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SOME NEWSPAPER REACTIONS TO THE PRONOUNCEMENT OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE

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AS long as sovereign nations perdure in the western hemisphere, the year 1823 will be remembered as the year in which President James Monroe enunciated, in his Message to Congress, the doctrine which bears his name. The significance of the pronouncements, directed immediately against Russia, Great Britain, Spain, and Portugal, was not lost on the editors of our newspapers. The journalists fully realized the importance and ramifications of the new doctrine and manifested an agreement with the momentous step taken by the President.¹ The press excitement aroused by that portion of the message relating to future colonization of the American Hemisphere and possible attempts of Spain and Portugal to regain their former colonies, strange to relate, quickly subsided. The members of Congress and the newsmen of the country, when first they learned the contents of the message, felt certain that President Monroe had secret information of a projected European attempt to restore the American territories of Spain and Portugal to a colonial status.² When Monroe assured Congress that he possessed no such information, the press ceased its editorializing on the contents of the message immediately.

Gales and Seaton, editors of the **National Intelligencer**, as early as Tuesday, November 18, 1823, went on record as being favourable to the ideas later advanced by Monroe. It may well have been that the editors, close as they were to the administration, had been requested to send up an editorial trial balloon under the title, "Spain, the Holy Alliance, and America." The actions of Ferdinand were indicted; the presence of French troops in Spain was de-

¹The newspapers cited in this article, The **Missouri Intelligencer** and the St. Louis **Enquirer** excepted, were consulted from files of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

²Cf. **National Gazette**, Philadelphia, Thursday, January 15, 1824, for notice of a message sent by Monroe to Congress on Monday, January 12, in which the President stated that he had no knowledge of the plans of the Holy Alliance which was not already known by the members of Congress.

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plored, and it was stated that America is free, the North and South of our vast continent will say to the tide of tyranny, 'Here shall thy proud waves be stayed!'"³ The publication of the foregoing may have been purely coincidental, but the possibility remains that there may well have been some connection between this writing and the pronouncement of President Monroe on Tuesday, December 2, 1823, to the first session of the 18th Congress.

Presumably, Ritchie and Gooch, editors of the Richmond **Enquirer**, anticipated a message of some importance for when they presented the Message to their readers on Thursday, December 4, they added the explanation that special efforts had been made to transmit the instrument, as quickly as possible, from Washington to Richmond. The transmission of the text from the office of the **National Intelligencer** in Washington to the office of the **Enquirer** consumed just seventeen hours, "A degree of despatch, hitherto without example."⁴ The editors then proceeded to comment at length upon the contents of the Message, as did the editors of the papers in the different cities of the land.

We now lay this document before our readers. We have no room to-day (**sic**) for comments. We may say, however, that its **matter** is calculated to seize the public attention.—It presents many points of great importance. The proposition to abolish the whole **privateering** system—the negotiation for the navigation of the St. Lawrence—the recommendation to appropriate money to the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and the **Constitutional** grounds upon which it is enforced—are all of them points which are entitled to the most serious consideration. But more important than all these is the policy he has chalked out in relation to the states of South America. The President takes bold ground. He intimates, that although we ought not to meddle in the war between Spain and her quondam provinces, (and by parity of reasoning, between Portugal and the Brazils), yet we ought "to consider any attempt," on the part of the allied powers of Europe, "to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere, as dangerous to our

³**National Intelligencer**, Washington, Tuesday, November 18, 1823.

⁴**Enquirer**, Richmond, Thursday, December 4, 1823.

peace and safety"—therefore, that we ought to interfere for the purpose of arresting such an attempt. We are solicitous to know, what attempts are meditated; and we presume, that Congress will call for such information, as may be in the power of the Executive to give and which it may be expedient to submit, calculated to shed any light upon this deeply interesting subject.⁵

On Saturday, December 6, the **Enquirer** carried some additional observances concerning the policy set forth by Monroe. It would seem, the ambiguity of the opening sentences notwithstanding, that the editors wished to declare themselves as being wholly sympathetic with the firm stand taken by the President.

We confess that this document completely disappointed us. We took it up without any high expectations of interesting matters: but very different were the feelings with which we laid it down. Its high tone soon struck our attention. We saw that propositions had been made to foreign nations, which were as interesting as they were unexpected. The conclusion of the Message will rivet every one's attention. The policy chalked out towards South America breathes a generous and lofty spirit, which is worthy of the Chief Magistrate of the nation. . . . For our parts, we think it was time to speak; time to remonstrate with the powers of Europe; time to arouse our slumbering people. . . . It was time then for the President to declare what he thought of the decisions of the Allied Powers.⁶

The **New-York American**, like the **Enquirer**, reprinted the text of the Message from the **National Intelligencer** and declared, "It is, incomparably, the best Message which Mr. Monroe has ever communicated to Congress." J. M. Elliot, editor of the **American**, then

⁵**Enquirer**, Thursday, December 4, 1823.

⁶**Enquirer**, Saturday, December 6, 1823. On Saturday, December 27, the **Enquirer** printed the following: "We are persuaded that our government has received the most conclusive information of the resolution of Great Britain to oppose any aggressions which the Allied Powers may make upon South America—and propositions to join her in that policy. We are persuaded that the Committee of Foreign Relations are in possession of this information."

followed with an analysis of the various topics treated in the Message.

But the most important, the most decisive, and we feel safe in saying, the most popular part of this document is that which, after announcing the very different result from that which had been anticipated, of the struggles in the Spanish peninsula, proclaims in terms guarded, but explicit and intelligible, that though in the quarrels of Europe it is our policy to take no part nor lot, we will not look with indifference on any attempt to extend to the American continent the oppressive system of the old world. This is indeed the language that it becomes us to hold. We owe it to our condition as the eldest of the confederacy of free and independent American nations, to step forth and say to the presumptuous monarchs of Europe, "Thus far shall ye go and no farther." Those whom the dissociable ocean has severed "ye shall not bind together with chains." And the voice of the nations will second and sustain this warning. . . . In conclusion, then, we say, that this is a state paper of which as Americans we may be proud; and from the style of which, its sentiments, and its measured but firm tone, the friends of freedom, wherever scattered over the face of the earth, will derive hope and consolation.⁷

The **American** was happy to be able to inform its readers that favourable reactions to the new doctrine were not proper to New York alone.

From Washington, we learn, that the sentiments of the President's Message, which have found such cordial welcome here, are not less warmly appreciated there. All parties unite in approving them; and if we are not misinformed, the Cabinet was unanimous in recommending them. This government has now placed itself where it ought to be in the foreground of those who are friends of freedom. It has promulgated, and will maintain what may be called the political system

⁷New-York American, Saturday, December 6, 1823.

of the American continent, in opposition to that of the European continent, and this we are authorized from our sources to conclude, has not been done without due consideration, nor without consultation with the only European nation, (the English) who are not in the league, forcibly or willingly, of the Holy Alliance.⁸

The contents of Monroe's Message proved pleasing to Benjamin Russell of the Boston **Columbian-Centinel** and he gave the document an elaborate nod of approval in his issue of Wednesday, December 10.

The able and instructive Message of President Monroe will be found on the front page. As every American reader must feel an inclination to give it a careful perusal, we shall not attempt an analysis of it. It abounds in details which must be useful to the new Members of Congress. It gives a flattering view of the situation and internal resources of the United States; and as it regards the European Potentates, it says to them emphatically, **Manage the affairs of the old world in your own way, but intermeddle not with those of the new world.**⁹

Hezekiah Niles of the **Weekly Register** found the Message remarkable for, among other things, "the amplitude and simplicity of its details"—

There is one part of the message, however, that will attract particular attention. It is where the president suggests the possibility that the "allied powers" may attempt an extension of their "political system to Mexico and the South American states" which, he declares, ought to be regarded "as dangerous to our peace and safety." Every thinking American will accord in this opinion—but the expression of it, on an occasion like the present, convinces us that there must be some special **reason** for putting it forth.¹⁰

⁸New-York American, Wednesday, December 10, 1823.

⁹Columbian-Centinel, Boston, Wednesday, December 10, 1823.

¹⁰Weekly Register, Baltimore, December 6, 1823, XXV, 209.

The **National Gazette** of Philadelphia declared the Message an excellent one and superior to any of Monroe's previous messages. William Fry, editor of the **Gazette**, on the same day he printed the above observation, published the text and added:

The President speaks with the candor and spirit becoming the Chief Magistrate of a numerous people, and with the judgment of a statesman "looking before and after," when he declares that the United States will view any attempt to extend the system of the Holy Alliance to any portion of this hemisphere as ominous to their safety; that it cannot be so extended without threatening our peace and happiness; that our Southern Brethren if left to themselves, would not adopt it of their own accord, that Spain **alone** can never subdue them—that to the defense of our own government, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of our most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, we are all inflexibly devoted.

Such language will serve to apprise the Allies that we are alive, **feelingly** alive, to their probable designs on this hemisphere, and that they would experience from this republic, a kind of resistance very different from that which the French met in Spain.¹¹

Fry followed up the above with two more editorials in the same month which were directed toward "backing up" the assertions of the president. In the first, published Thursday, December 11, the Philadelphia editor urged the strengthening of the army, navy, and coastal fortifications. The President's Message constituted merely a warning; only a vigorous defense policy would serve to keep the Holy Alliance out of this hemisphere if its members decided to move against us.¹² The second editorial expressed the "hope" that Congress will not be satisfied with the promulgation of only lofty phrases and grand intentions.¹³

¹¹**National Gazette**, Philadelphia, Saturday, December 6, 1823. The **Gazette** reprinted the text of the Message from the **National Intelligencer**.

¹²**National Gazette**, Thursday, December 11, 1823.

¹³**National Gazette**, Saturday, December 20, 1823.

The **National Intelligencer** was not content to laud the Message of the president, but endeavoured, as far as was possible, to secure the immediate reactions of all papers available during the week immediately following upon its release. The reactions obtained were printed in the issue of the **Intelligencer** of Tuesday, December 9. The initial response of the **Intelligencer** itself appeared on Thursday, December 4, under the dateline, Wednesday, December 3, 1823.

The Annual Message of the President to both Houses of Congress, now laid before our readers, is a document at all times of great interest, but in the present instance peculiarly so. It does honor to its author, and its most material parts are conceived in the true spirit of the days in which he first engaged in the active scenes of public life. We need not bespeak for it an attentive perusal. It will command that and more.¹⁴

Gales and Seaton closed the foregoing with a firm promise to comment upon the text at greater length in the immediate future. On Tuesday, December 9, however, they observed: "Its details are so full, and its arrangements so perspicuous, that amplification or analysis of its contents would be equally superfluous. . . . Whilst we refrain from comment ourselves, we have thought we should render an acceptable service to our readers, by selecting from other prints the articles written under the first impression of the Message." The editors then expressed regret that they had received the reactions of only the Baltimore and Philadelphia papers.¹⁵

From the United States' Gazette (Philadelphia)

The President's Message to Congress, which we give today, has afforded us the highest satisfaction. The noble sentiments of the policy it expresses, in the present critical situation of the world, do honor to his discernment, generous feeling, and patriotism, and renders us the more proud of our country, because they are approved by the whole nation, in the coolest exercise of its judgment, and they throb in the bosom of every man. We allude more particularly to the distinct and candid enunciation he takes of the attempts

¹⁴**National Intelligencer**, Washington, Thursday, December 4, 1823.

¹⁵**National Intelligencer**, Tuesday, December 9, 1823.

of the European Alliance, to control the world. There can be no intention to flatter in this warm approbation; because we have constantly, and very lately laid the same ideas, which the message more advantageously displays, before our readers. He says that "we owe to the candor and to the amicable relations, existing between the United States and those Powers, **to declare**, that we should consider any attempt on their part, to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere, as dangerous to **our peace and safety**." Nothing can be more magnanimously wise and decisive than this. No honorable and discerning man can be found, who will not support the declaration by **his approbation**, and by his action, when necessary. . . . The message is highly important in all its parts—never was one more so;¹⁶

The editor of the **Freeman's Journal**, likewise of Philadelphia, was not quite as verbose as was the editor of the **United States' Gazette**, but he did find the Message "highly gratifying" in part, and recommended "an attentive perusal" of its contents to his readers.

The statement which it gives in relation to the affairs of our own country, is highly gratifying; while the view taken of the affairs of other nations, as they stand in relation to our Government, is alike moderate and firm. It deserves, and will amply repay, an attentive perusal.¹⁷

The Message impressed the editor of the **Baltimore Morning Chronicle** as so "immensely important" he recommended that future generations should remember the day on which it was delivered as a holiday.

The official annunciation that no more colonizing by the European powers will be admitted on the American continent . . . the noble and patriotic resolution that all attempts on the part of the crowned heads to prostrate the South American re-

¹⁶**National Intelligencer**, Tuesday, December 9, 1823. Reprinted from the **United States' Gazette** of Philadelphia.

¹⁷**National Intelligencer**, Tuesday, December 9, 1823. Reprinted from the **Freeman's Journal**, Philadelphia.

publics, whose independence had been acknowledged by us, would be resented by our government . . . are all questions embraced in the President's Message, and are, in every point of view, immensely important, . . . This Message itself, constitutes an era in American history, worthy of commemoration, and the day on which it was delivered should be remembered as a holiday to future generations. We are confident that, on this occasion, we speak the great body of American sentiment, such as exulting millions are ready to re-echo.¹⁸

The **Federal Gazette** of Baltimore had "neither time nor room" to comment on "the various interesting matters contained in the message," but it did inform its readers that the declarations concerning South America bespoke "the universal sentiment of the American people."

We have neither time nor room now to comment on the various interesting matters contained in the message but we cannot omit noticing the increased interest which the foreign news, received today, gives to the explicit declaration of the President, in the name of the United States, as respects the nations of South America, whose independence we have acknowledged, that "We could not view any interposition . . ." We have no doubt that the same correct sentiment will be unanimously expressed by the members of both Houses of Congress; for, it is the universal sentiment of the American people.¹⁹

The response of the **Baltimore American** was not unlike that of the **Federal Gazette**. The editor of the **American** was convinced that all United States citizens would approve the new policy.

The true policy of the American government, in its intercourse with those of Europe, is briefly, but clearly and forcibly defined. And while a rigid adherence to it is inculcated upon the Representatives of the people, the President adds a candid

¹⁸**National Intelligencer**, Tuesday, December 9, 1823. Reprinted from the **Baltimore Morning Chronicle**.

¹⁹**National Intelligencer**, Tuesday, December 9, 1823. Reprinted from the **Federal Gazette** of Baltimore.

and emphatic avowal of the views entertained by the Administration with regard to the principles and policy of the Holy **Alliance** of Europe—an avowal to which the heart of every citizen of this free and happy country will most surely respond.²⁰

The **Federal Republican**, likewise of Baltimore, advised its subscribers that the doctrine would prove popular and, further, that it was a matter of the utmost importance to the nation as a whole.

In regard to the interference of the powers of Europe, with the concerns of the people of this hemisphere, he has touched a chord that will vibrate in unison with every honorable feeling in the country. We have seldom read a similar document with more interest, or seen one, which contained more important matter for the consideration of Congress and the nation.²¹

The editor of the **Baltimore Patriot** maintained that the Presidential pronouncement would not only meet with universal approval, but would be supported by the collective strength of our citizenry.

Among the most important features of this important state paper, will be found that relating to European interference with the governments of this hemisphere. To these sentiments, every American heart will respond, and to the support of which every American arm will be extended.²²

In Missouri the press reaction to the Message was similar to that which appeared in newspapers of the eastern cities. The edi-

²⁰**National Intelligencer**, Tuesday, December 9, 1823. Reprinted from the **Baltimore American**.

²¹**National Intelligencer**, Tuesday, December 9, 1823. Reprinted from the **Federal Republican** of Baltimore.

²²**National Intelligencer**, Tuesday, December 9, 1823. Reprinted from the **Baltimore Patriot**. On Thursday, December 11, 1823, The **National Intelligencer** carried the following: "The Message of the President seems to have created a **sensation** wherever it has been read, and is universally regarded as a document of unusual importance. . . . Some idea may be formed of the light in which the Message is viewed here, by the **number** of copies of it which have been distributed throughout the nation, which may be thus estimated:

Printed by order of Congress.....	9,000
In the Nat. Intelligencer, about.....	6,000
Extra National Intelligencers.....	10,000
In other newspapers and extras.....	10,000

By this statement, it is evident that at least **thirty** thousand copies have been distributed by mail direct from this place to every part of the country."

tors of the **Missouri Intelligencer**, published at Franklin, Missouri, in their issue of Tuesday, January 6, 1824, expressed apologies that they had little time to peruse the contents of the address, but observed:

The intimation given to the European governments on the subject of colonization upon this continent, is excellent. The declaration of the views of our government touching their encroachments upon the liberties, and interference with the rights, of the independent governments of South America, most probably designed for the "Holy Alliance," was due to justice, to ourselves, and to those liberal principles which we have delighted to cherish;²³

Before the text of the Message had reached Franklin the editors of the **St. Louis Enquirer** had presented their impressions of the document to their readers.

The Message

We have the pleasure of presenting this able paper to our readers, which reached us last evening. It is truly and genuinely American—in fact we have never heard a document of the kind read with more enthusiasm, than was this message of Mr. Monroe. His views are generally interesting, particularly those on our foreign relations; and the wish he appears to encourage, of a closer union with South America, we have no doubt, is in perfect unison with the feelings and opinions of the free men of this Republic.²⁴

Many of the newspapermen, upon receipt of Monroe's Message, were convinced that European interference in American affairs was highly probable. Actually, from the safe vantage point of the present day, we can see that those initial fears proved groundless, but we must commend the moral courage demonstrated by the various editors when they gave whole-hearted support to the brave policy advanced by the President Monroe against the nations of Europe. The editors consulted were of the unanimous opinion that

²³**Missouri Intelligencer**, Franklin, Missouri, Tuesday, January 6, 1824. This paper and the file of the **St. Louis Enquirer** were consulted at the library of the Missouri Historical Society, The Jefferson Memorial, St. Louis, Mo.

²⁴**St. Louis Enquirer**, St. Louis, Mo., Saturday, December 27, 1823.

Monroe had acted correctly in challenging the designs of the Holy Alliance which they seemingly feared more than they did the might of its more effective contemporary, the Quadruple Alliance. They stood four-square behind James Monroe in his historic warning to the nations of the Old World that they should refrain from interference with the domestic concerns of the young nations of the New World.

THE LAW AND THE CONSTITUTION OF CELTIC IRELAND

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On March 19, 1640 the Irish Parliament met in the presence of Lord Lieutenant Wentworth, Earl of Strafford; and Sir Maurice Eustace, Speaker of the House of Commons, opened the proceedings with an address in the course of which he declared: "The Brehon law with her two brats of tanistry and Irish gavelkind, like the children of the bondwoman, are cast out as spurious and adulterate."¹ An artificial Protestant majority representing the English and Scottish colonists, the Unionists of that day, threw up their hats in gratitude and rejoiced because the best of kings had seen to it that the son of the freewoman should prevail. Doubtless for them it was a great triumph, but the survival of the ancient Brehon law after nearly five centuries of feudalism and alien rule was a far greater one. No shred of it could have persisted had it not been deeply rooted in Irish national culture and tradition. Under conditions no more disadvantageous, the laws and institutes of other ancient peoples were either entirely superseded or transformed beyond the certain recognition of experts. The persistence therefore of the Brehon, or more properly of Celtic, law into the seventeenth century is a fact of far-reaching importance if only because it presents the scholar of antiquarian interests with a unique opportunity of studying at fairly close range an expression of national experience that was at once tried and venerable.

This is the proper approach to the study of the old Celtic system of law and government. In the structure and operation of modern law the Celtic element exercises no demonstrable influence to be sure. But as a human culture-product apart from its utility or results, it is a subject inherently interesting, provocative in content and enjoyable in its antique form, if we would recapture the spirit of the past and find enchantment in

Old, forgotten, far off things
And battles long ago.

¹The Earl of Strafford's Letters and Dispatches with an Essay Towards his Life by George Radcliffe, edited by W. Knowler, 2 vols. (London, 1739), II, 394-96.

In comparing the laws of ancient Ireland with those of other European peoples, particularly with those of the Anglo-Saxons, the resemblances strike us as being scarcely less significant than the differences. In the Irish and the Anglo-Saxon law tracts cognate ideas abound. The Celtic **eric finé** (pronounced erick finna), a man's honor price according to his rank, has a less developed equivalent in the Saxon **wergeld**, a man's valuation in terms of money according to his rank. On the other hand, the institution known as the King's peace in Saxon criminal law has a less elaborate equivalent in Celtic law in the infliction of the death penalty for high crimes against the king or state institutions or for the disturbance of a public assembly. Both the Irish and the Saxon courts stood in middle position between the early days of the **lex talionis** or law of private vengeance when the individual with the aid of his kinsfolk secured justice for himself, and modern times when the state takes charge of the whole process to the exclusion of private action. Finally both systems, the Irish clearly and the Saxon vaguely, point to a time when the free village assembly was the socio-political nucleus of the community.

Because of the earlier commitment of Irish laws to writing and the superiority of Irish monastic schools, it has been suggested that the Saxon laws may have borrowed some of their provisions from the Irish. In this connection it is pointed out that Alfred the Great who drew up the first respectable collection of Saxon laws was educated in Ireland. There may have been an intercommunication of legal ideas from time to time, but in all likelihood the parallelism between the two systems can be attributed to like causes and to a common fund of western European traditions.² The differences are too great to postulate derivation of the one from the other or any close and continuous collaboration. In Irish law there was nothing like the Saxon ordeal and no officer like the Saxon sheriff. The infliction of capital punishment was rarer. Equity played a far greater part in determining the right between party and party. And the dichotomy of law in its civil and criminal branches was somewhat more vaguely defined and rested on a different principle. Finally, while the Saxon courts were of coordinate jurisdiction, the Irish

²Eoin MacNeill, **Early Irish Laws and Institutions** (Dublin, no date of publication), 96-100; George Burton Adams, **Constitutional History of England**, revised edition by R. L. Schuyler (New York, 1924), 26.

Venerable Bede, **Ecclesiastical History of England**, Giles Edition (London, 1849), 6-7, 129, 162.

system provided in a rudimentary sort of way for the right of appeal.³ In general, it might be said that the Irish laws reflect a less primitive condition of society and a higher conception of humanity; but that, in certain particulars such as the assembly character of the law courts and the execution of the law itself, the Saxon system reflects a more efficient conception of public order.

Owing to the scanty and fragmentary records of Saxon law before the times of Alfred the Great, Professor G. B. Adams warns us that it is only as we draw nearer to the time of the Norman Conquest that we get a really trustworthy knowledge of the institutions of Anglo-Saxon England.⁴ The reverse process, as the findings of Irish scholars, notably Professor Eoin MacNeill show, must be applied to a study of the laws of Celtic Ireland.⁵ The laws and institutions of Ireland were at their highest development when they were first written down. In the introduction to the **Senchus Mór** (pronounced Shanăkus More), this is stated to have been in the time of King Laoghaire (Leary) when Theodosius the Second was emperor of the world. The compilation of the **Senchus Mór** was made under the supervision of St. Patrick, and in the commentary it is said that it was completed nine years after his arrival. That would be 441 A. D., but the Annals of the Four Masters give "the age of Christ 438."⁶

A progressive decay of Irish laws and institutions is clearly noticeable from about the middle of the ninth century when, under the intensified pressure of the Norse invasions, the national order was generally disturbed and in some parts of the country disrupted. Ireland had not recovered from this setback when the Anglo-Norman Conquest began. Thereafter, in an atmosphere of continual civil war, fomented by the Dublin government which outlawed **in perpetuum** the "mere Irish", Gaelic institutions gradually atrophied and the laws fossilized. This study is chiefly concerned with these institutes and laws during the period which runs roughly from 250 A.D. in the reign of King Cormac to the middle of the ninth century when the Ostmans or Danes began to settle in fortified towns along the coast. The period has been called by national historians Ireland's

³Douglas Hyde, **A Literary History of Ireland** (London, 1920), 585-86.

⁴Adams, *op. cit.*, 9.

⁵MacNeill, *op. cit.*, 63 ff.

⁶**Ancient Laws of Ireland** edited by W. N. Hancock, A. G. Richie and Robert Atkinson (6 vols., Dublin, 1865-1901), I, 30 ff. **Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters from the Earliest Period to 1616**, edited by John O'Donovan (7 vols., Dublin, 1851), I, 133.

Golden Age, and it is remarkable that it corresponded with the Dark Age of western Europe which was ushered in with the collapse of the **Pax Romana** under the impact of the barbarian invasions.⁷

Because of its isolated geographical position, references to Ireland by Greek and Roman writers are comparatively few and of a general character. Fortunately, however, a pretty full study of Celtic Ireland can be made from native sources. These consist of a wealth of manuscript materials which for antiquity and intrinsic value cannot be surpassed by any other nation north of the Alps. Most of the literary remains that are really valuable and characteristically beautiful belong to early Christian times. The same is generally true of the artistic remains, the exquisite **opus hibernicum** or hand illumination of manuscripts reaching its apogee in the seventh century.

Of all the literary remains, those dealing with the laws are the least attractive. We will not wonder at this if we only reflect that it was Edmund Burke, who, in the words of Jeremy Bentham, reduced law to the language of the scholar and the gentleman. The language of the Irish law tracts is dry and archaic, and the laws themselves which had existed for possibly ten centuries when they were first committed to writing, do not reflect a uniform pattern either of state or society. Like the Anglo-Saxon Doms they are often tantalizingly obscure, and their obscurity is due to the same fact; namely, that a considerable body of familiar usages remained unwritten. Yet the important thing for the lover of Irish antiquities is the existence of a body of Irish laws, which were originally written in Irish by Irishmen and for the benefit of Irishmen. The archaic and technical character of the language in which they were written is in itself of inestimable value to the student of philology. This alone would justify their existence, but they have another value for Irishmen which has been pointed out by Laurence Ginnell in his important book dealing with **The Brehon Laws**. By contrast with the more colorful literary remains of Gaelic Ireland such as the sagas and poems of the Red Branch and Ossianic Cycles, the law tracts are, he writes, superior because of "their rigorously authentic character." They represent what were once the realities of life and "help so far as they go, to dispel the mist of years."⁸

⁷Eoin MacNeill, **Phases of Irish History** (Dublin, 1937), 222 ff.

⁸Laurence Ginnell, **The Brehon Laws** (London, 1904), 10-11

If we keep in mind the great human tragedy of the arrested development of Ireland from the coming of Strongbow in 1169 to the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921-22, we must not be surprised that the literary remains of Ireland, with the exception of those preserved in European monasteries, remained in manuscript and were practically inaccessible until the historiographical revolution in the nineteenth century. Even now the task of editing with which the Irish Historical Manuscripts Commission has to grapple is immense. Yet the amazing thing is that anything at all should have survived; for all through the long night of Ireland's "Dark Age", which ranged from the Tudor Conquest to the Act of Union, the men who were sent over from England to govern Ireland ordered Irish manuscripts burned whenever they were discovered, had their owners hunted down, and made it criminal to teach or learn the language in which they were written. In a learned introductory volume to Eugene O'Curry's great work **On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish**, the editor, Dr. W. K. Sullivan, in 1873 wrote:⁹

During the first part of the eighteenth century, the possession of an Irish book made the owner a suspected person, and was often the cause of his ruin. In some parts of the country the tradition of the danger incurred by having Irish manuscripts lived down to within my own memory, and I have seen Irish MSS. which had been buried until the writing had almost faded, and the margins rotted away, to avoid the danger which their discovery would entail at the visit of the local yeomanry.

In the nineteenth century, particularly during the diaspora of the Irish people which followed upon the Great Starvation of the forties, numerous manuscripts began finding their way to Trinity College, the Royal Irish Academy, and the Irish Public Record Office. In this way enough of them have been salvaged to write an authentic history of ancient and medieval Ireland, but doubtless many are still rotting in the ruins of old castles, in caves in the hills and even in graves. The destruction by fire of the Public Record Office during the Civil War which followed the signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921-22 was a staggering loss, but fortunately there were copies elsewhere of some of the precious documents destroyed and transcripts of these have been made.

⁹Eugene O'Curry, **On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish**, edited with introduction by W. K. Sullivan, 3 vols. (London, 1873), I, xix.

Of the legal manuscripts, none of the originals of the fifth century are extant, and, as a matter of fact, almost all those that have come down to us are the result of progressive transcription, being copies of copies of originals. With each repetition of transcription either some modernization of the antiquated phraseology was introduced or a gloss or commentary to render the matter intelligible. The custom of glossing, that is, of writing brief explanations of words in the ancient texts usually along the margins, was first used in the ninth century. In the commentaries the application of the ancient texts was developed by jurists of Norman and Plantagenet times, and the law itself underwent development notwithstanding its theoretical immutability. The glosses and commentaries are frequently quite pedantic, a characteristic of Irish scholarship which Professor MacNeil justly deplors. To make matters worse from the point of view of the Brehon Laws themselves, the glossators and commentators sometimes inserted their explanations in the most convenient place they could find for them on the pages of a manuscript with the inevitable result that they got mixed up with the text in a later transcription.¹⁰

In 1852, the British government appointed a Royal Commission for the transcription, translation and publication of the Ancient laws and institutions of Ireland. The work of the Commissioners is available in **The Ancient Laws of Ireland** published in six volumes, the last being a glossary, between 1865 and 1901. The Commissioners, all English scholars, were not, in Professor MacNeill's opinion, first class experts either in historical jurisprudence or in the language of the Irish laws. They therefore employed John O'Donovan and Eugene O'Curry to make the transcripts and translations. The least part of the enormous task performed by these two learned and devoted men was the transcribing of more than ten thousand pages. For their preliminary translation of a mass of fragmentary material written in the ancient form of Irish from the seventh to the seventeenth century and involving the highly technical diction of the **Béarla Féine** or Bardic dialect, they had nothing to rely upon but a number of ancient glossaries still in manuscript. Neither man had any philological training, and it was not until 1853, the year following the institution of the Brehon Law Commission, that the **Grammatica Celtica** of Zeuss, which laid the foundations of Irish philological study, was published. O'Donovan and O'Curry died before they

¹⁰Hyde, *op. cit.*, 267.

had a chance of revising or completing their work, and the Commissioners confined their efforts to editing it with five introductory essays of a speculative character. The editorial essays of W. N. Hancock, A. G. Richey, and Sir Henry Maine are defective and misleading. Only Dr. Robert Atkinson, who edited the fifth volume, had the competency to revise the work of the Irish translators. MacNeill is of the opinion that the chief value of the editorial contributions is "to exemplify how not to do it."¹¹

Of the ancient law tracts which were selected for publication the two most important are the **Senchus Mór**, a monumental treatise on Irish law in general, civil and criminal, and the Book of Aicill which is taken up mainly with the Irish criminal code. The word **Mór** means great but the sense of the word **Senchus** is not settled. A gloss suggests different meanings such as, great old tradition, grand old law and great old house of ancestral knowledge. The glossator apparently preferred the last meaning because he goes on to say that, "just as a house protects against the cold and against the inclemency of the weather so also the law and the knowledge of the **Senchus** protects against injustice and against ignorance."¹² The **Senchus Mór** contains all the details of a legal system and was designed to be a comprehensive and codified embodiment of the laws which had been of universal obligation over the whole of Ireland before the coming of St. Patrick. According to the preface to the text, it was redacted at the suggestion and under the supervision of St. Patrick in the time of King Laoghaire. In **The Annals of the Four Masters** it is stated that in 438 A.D., "the **Senchus** and **Feinachus** (law) of Ireland were purified and written".¹³ As the production of pagans, St. Patrick felt that the laws needed modification in order to bring them into harmony with Christianity. The most effective way in which this could be done was to have a collection and revision of them decreed by a convention of "the men of Erin". At the request of the Saint, Laoghaire the **Árd Rí**, or High King of Ireland, convoked a national assembly to meet at Tara. The assembly appointed for the work of revision a committee consisting of three kings, three Christian bishops, and three **ollamhs** (doctors), Ross, Fergus and Dubhthagh (pronounced Doofa). Of these the most learned was Dubhthagh; and, after Laoghaire and his Druids were

¹¹MacNeill, *op. cit.*, 88-9.

¹²Cited in Ernest Nys, *Études de Droit International et de Droit Politique*, (Bruxelles and Paris, 1896, 2 vols.), I, 87 ff.

¹³**The Ancient Laws of Ireland**, I, preface to the **Senchus** of the men of Erin, 6 ff; **Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland**, I, 133.

overcome by the great science and miracles wrought in the presence of the men of Erin,

Dubhthagh was ordered to exhibit the judgments and all the poetry (Literature) of Erin and every law which prevailed amongst the men of Erin, through the law of nature, and the law of seers, and in the judgments of true nature which the Holy Spirit had spoken through the mouths of the Brehons and just poets of the men of Erin from the first occupation of the island down to the reception of the faith were all exhibited by Dubhthagh to Patrick. What did not clash with the Work of God in the written law and in the New Testament, and with the consciences of believers, was confirmed in the laws of the Brehons by the ecclesiastics and the chief men of Erin; for the law of nature was quite right, except for the faith and its obligations and the harmony of the Church and the people.¹⁴

The above account clearly treats the laws as preexisting in the minds of learned men and orally transmitted from time immemorial. This was a matter of no small concern to the Brehon Law Commissioners of 1852 who would fain have found that the Irish laws when they first appeared in writing were a simple record of primitive tribal customs. The **Senchus** itself precluded this interpretation treating of its own origin thus:

The **Senchus** of the men of Erin—what has preserved it? The joint memory of two seniors; the tradition from one ear to another; the composition of poets; the addition from the law of the letter; strength from the law of nature; for these are the three rocks by which the judgments of the world are supported.

* * * * *

Whoever the poet was that connected it by a thread of poetry before Patrick, it lived until it was exhibited to Patrick. The preserving shrine is the poetry and the **Senchus** is what is preserved therein.¹⁵

¹⁴The **Ancient Laws of Ireland**, I, preface to the **Senchus** (another spelling is **Seanchus**).

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 31.

Henri d'Arbois de Jubainville, Sir Henry Main, and Whitely Stokes doubt the legend of Dubhthagh on grounds of internal evidence which would seem to indicate that the **Senchus** was made up of treatises belonging to different periods and that most of these were compiled in the ninth century.¹⁶ M. d'Arbois de Jubainville who set 800 A.D. as a probable date, acknowledges that the part of the **Senchus** treating of the law of Immediate Distress is very old but not anterior to Christianity because it contains the words **altair** (altar) and **cis** (census).¹⁷ This according to Douglas Hyde, does not wholly discredit the tradition that St. Patrick had a hand in the final redaction of at least a part of the **Senchus**, "for altars were certainly known in Ireland before Patrick, and the insertion of the clause about altar furnishings may even have been due to the apostle himself."¹⁸

MacNeill rejects the legend of Dubhthagh on these grounds. In a **Life of St. Columba**,¹⁹ Adamnan, a successor of Columba as abbot of Iona, records a battle fought in 637 at Moira in Ireland between the King of Dalriada and the King of Ireland in which an Irish youth named Cennfaeladh (Kengfayla) took part. According to a beautiful old Celtic saga, Cennfaeladh was wounded in the battle and was taken to the monastery of Tuaim Recon, the abbot of which was a skilled surgeon. In Tuaim Recon there were three schools—a Latin school attached to the monastery, a school of **filedecht**, the name given to the curriculum of Irish higher learning, and a school of Irish law. Cennfaeladh attended all three and received the appellation of "the learned". He stated that all he learned by day in the law school, he wrote down by night, writing it first on slates and waxen tablets and later copying it into books. MacNeill takes the story to mean that the laws of Ireland were not written before 637.¹⁹

Both the legend of Dubhthagh and the story of Cennfaeladh make it at least certain that the Irish laws were no record of primitive custom, but the product of professional men teaching in law schools which were distinctly differentiated from other schools

¹⁶Charles Gross, **The Sources and Literature of English History from the Earliest Times to about 1485** (London, 1915), 261.

¹⁷Henri d'Arbois d'Jubainville, **Études sur le Droit Celtique**, 2 vols. (Paris, 1859), I.

¹⁸Hyde, *op. cit.*, 589.

¹⁹**Adamnani Vita S. Columbae**, edited from Dr. Reeve's text with an introduction by J. T. Fowler (Oxford, 1920), Bk. I, c. 21, Bk. III, c. 28.

where **filedecht** or all the branches of Irish secular learning except law was taught. In the legend of Dubhthagh these professional men are called Brehons, and the question naturally arises as to whence came the Brehons. The word "brehon" means arbitrator. The Brehons as a class were the successors of the Druids in the legal aspects of their profession. **Filès** or Bards were the literary successors of the Druids, and as memory was of supreme importance in ancient times there was a universal tendency to reduce all learning to verse. The ancient laws of Ireland from which the **Senchus Mór** was composed were entirely in verse and portions of the **Senchus** itself are in verse. This was not an exclusively Irish characteristic. The ancient Scandinavian and Icelandic and probably the Saxon laws were originally in verse. As the law came to be written down, and the Brehons became the official teachers and practitioners while the monks took over philosophical, theological and general academic learning, the Bards gradually became a distinct order of official poets. Brehons and Bards both, and this is the important thing to remember, sprang by a process of differentiation or specialization from the generic institution of Druidism.²⁰

Of the generic character of the Druidic profession, Caesar leaves no doubt. They were, he says, the schoolmasters and professional men of Gaul. Within the scope of their culture came instruction on the future state of the soul, the stars and their movements, the magnitude of the universe, the nature of things and the force and power of the immortal gods.²¹ Although Gaul was divided into a bewildering number of tiny, sovereign statelets, the Druidic organization was national. They elected a common president and met in annual convention at a fixed place and time, and one of the purposes of their conventions was to provide a law court for the states of Gaul. "Hither come together from all parts all who have disputes and they render obedience to the awards and judgments of the Druids."²² This description is, by analogy, a perfect mirror of the Druidic civilization in ancient Ireland. Pre-Christian Ireland, like Gaul, was divided into a great number of tiny states (**tuatha**) yet the Druidic profession was national, and the law as it came down was in scope national or perhaps should we say international, for

²⁰Hyde, *op. cit.*, 240; MacNeill, *op. cit.*, 56 ff.

²¹*C. Julii Caesaris Commentatorium de Bello Gallico* (In usum Delphini, ed. Thomas Clark, Philadelphia, 1831), Book VI, 116-19.

²²*Ibid.*

the **tuatha** were independent statelets. Cennfaeladh's account of the three schools at Tuaim Recon represents the differentiation that had developed in Christian times: the school of filedecht run by the **Filés** or Bards, the law school by the Brehons, and the Latin school with emphasis on theology and ecclesiastical training under the control of the monasteries. If the Druids were priests it is easy to see that, just as their secular functions passed to the Bards and Brehons, their priestly functions would have yielded to those of the Christian priesthood. As a matter of fact, their schools of religious learning were replaced by the monasteries.

Older writers have invariably classified the Druids as priests and magicians. Caesar, to whom our most reliable information is due, seems to leave no doubt about the matter. **Illi rebus divinis intersunt, sacrificia publica ac privata procurant, religiones interpretantur.** "These [the Druids] are occupied with sacred things, they have charge of public and private sacrifices, [and] interpret religion." Caesar, then, goes on to say that, "if anybody, either private or public, should not submit to their decree [in a legal dispute] they ban him from the sacrifices. This is a very serious punishment among them." Caesar concludes with this significant passage: "The whole nation of the Gauls is very much given to religion, and for this reason those who are afflicted with very serious diseases and those who are engaged in war and dangers, either sacrifice men for victims, or vow that they will sacrifice them; and they use the Druids as performers of these sacrifices (**administrisque ad ea sacrificia Druidibus utuntur**)."²³

Notwithstanding these pertinent statements, Professor T. D. Kendrick²⁴ whom MacNeill follows, takes them to mean nothing more than that the Druids were employed in sacred rites in some external capacity. To support this contention Kendrick and MacNeill point to another statement of Caesar in the same context wherein he says that "The Gauls employ the Druids in their sacred rites." They also fix on the expression **administris ad sacrificia** as indicative rather of men who presided at sacrificial offerings than as performers of them or priests, since the ancient expression for priests was **ministri sacrorum**. These arguments do not appear convincing, but Kendrick and MacNeill draw on other evidence for which some-

²³*Ibid.*

²⁴T. D. Kendrick, *The Druids* (London, 1927).

thing may be said. For instance, it is certain that the Celts of Trans-alpine Gaul had priests (The Gutuathri) who were not Druids, and later Greek writers do seem to reduce the function of the Druids at a Celtis sacrifice to presence. It is also very possible that the regional kings of Gaul and, by analogy, of Ireland were priests *ex officio*. If at an earlier time we find the *pater familias* discharging the priestly function, it is reasonable to suppose that the kings as *patres patriae* should have done the same thing. It is certain that they were judges *ex officio*, and therefore the brehons were not judges but rather the jurisconsults of the kings.

Relying on the belief that the Druids were priests, older writers attributed Druidism to non-Aryan sources. Kendrick, MacNeill, and R. A. S. Macalister reject this idea. Caesar says that Druidism originated in Britain, and he doubtless received his information from the Druid Divitiacus whom he held in high esteem. In all likelihood Druidism was pre-Celtic and originated among the Picts whom the Celtic invaders of Britain and Ireland gradually subdued. Caesar found evidence of two distinct types of people in Gaul and ancient Irish writers speak of two distinct types in Ireland: a tall, fair-haired or Nordic type, the Celts; and a stocky, blackhaired or Alpine type, the Picts. The Picts had other peculiar institutions of which traces have survived in the Irish laws. Inheritance amongst the Picts, for instance, passed through the female line. In the Brehon laws the status of women was practically equal to that of men, and women figure large in ancient Irish literature. Another tradition coming down from the Picts is to be seen in the Irish law that a skilled craftsman was a freeman *ex officio*. The struggle for domination between Picts and Celts lasted well into the Christian era with the Celts finally emerging as a landowning, patrician class and the Picts sinking to plebeian status. It is reasonable to assume that the Celts in order to appease them introduced into the Celtic law of status the maxim, "A man is better than his birth", and admitted their craftsmen to the political franchise.²⁵

The national character of Druidic civilization gives us a clue to the exaggerations of later Roman writers of Caesar's statement connecting the Druids with the offering of human sacrifices. In the opinion of Kendrick and MacNeill, these writers were hypocrites who were trying to justify the slaughter of the Druids at the hands

²⁵MacNeill, *Early Irish Laws and Institution*, 67 ff; *Phases of Irish History* (Dublin), 1937), 61 ff.

of the Roman Governors of Gaul and Britain. After the conquest of Gaul and Britain, the Druids continued to teach in hiding. The danger of this to imperial Rome should be obvious to the reader. It meant that they were laying the ground for national consolidation and patriotic resurgence. This gives us the real significance of the later Roman charge. By the same token the hunting down of the Bards and Brehons by the officials of Elizabethan and early Stuart Ireland was motivated by their fear of the same identical danger to English rule in Ireland.

Because this vital fact has been missed by English and Irish historians we have an oversimplified explanation given to us of the Irish question in Elizabethan times and after: the Irish were tribal barbarians, and their archaic way of life refused to mix with English civility. The latest elaboration of this doctrine is to be found in Bishop David Mathew's book entitled **The Celtic Peoples and Renaissance Europe**.²⁶ The author states that the Irish had a primitive tribal culture and that it went down before the English renaissance state with its centralized government and modern benefactions because it was incapable of comprehending the fundamental concept of citizenship or of the state. In the **Senchus Mór**, however, and in the Irish Book of Rights, a very old work on the early political constitution of Ireland,²⁷ we find a good deal of evidence of an individualistic freeholding system in Ireland and nothing that can be clearly identified with tribal communism. The almost universal tendency of historians to think of a uniform tribal communism as a stage in the development of primitive peoples has blinded men like Mathew, Sir Paul Vinogradoff, Goddard Orpen, and Christopher Dawson to the true facts of Irish history and impelled them to postulate a communal clan system with little evidence to support it outside the romantic fiction of the Waverly Novels. The Irish went down before the Tudor monarchy, not because of their incapacity to comprehend and enjoy the blessing of the highly civilized English renaissance state, but because the officials of Henry VIII and Elizabeth tried to superimpose a feudal landlordism on them that would reduce them to tenants at will on the lands which they had previously held by a Celtic free-hold system.

²⁶David Mathew, **The Celtic Peoples and Renaissance Europe** (London, 1933).

²⁷Mary Hayden and Paul Moonan, **A Short History of the Irish People**, 26.

The idea underlying the Tudor policy of "surrender and regrant" was to have the clan chiefs surrender their Irish titles for an English feudal earldom. The rights of the people of the clan were entirely ignored so that the chief who surrendered became in effect the landlord of serfs. For the chief, the temptation to become an earl was great if he could salve his conscience to the extent of taking the oath of royal supremacy and of supporting the government in its efforts to civilize the Irish natives over whom he had served as chief. The conditions gradually became more onerous until he rebelled. Then a condition that he had never thought of came into effect. He was declared a traitor. The land of the earldom was forfeited by escheat, and the Irish people were driven off to make room for English and Scottish Protestant colonists. The Bards saw through Tudor policy from the first and warned and exhorted the people to resistance. In a great poem the Bard of the O'Carroll's bitterly reproached such chiefs as the MacCarthy, the O'Brien, the MacYohy, the O'Neill, the O'Carroll and the O'Donnell for having "bartered the heirloom of ages away" and "gone with the Saxon aggressor."²⁸

Fooboon (fie) upon you, ye hosts of the Gael,
For your own Innisfail has been taken,
And the Gall is dividing the emerald lands
By your treacherous hands forsaken.

Fooboon for the court where no English was spoke,
Fooboon for the yoke of the stranger,
Fooboon for the gun in the foreigner's train,
Fooboon for the chain of danger.

Ye faltering madmen, God pity your case!
In the flame of disgrace ye are singeing,
Fooboon is the word of the bard and the saint,
Fooboon for the faint and cringing.

It is scarcely wonderful that English officialdom should have hunted down the Bards as the Romans did the Druids. Tacitus in his wisdom gives the best answer to the historian who would explain away the Tudor steamroller on the ground that it did civilization a service. Having recorded the measures adopted by Agricola to im-

²⁸Hyde, *op. cit.*, 526.

pose civilization in the Roman manner on the conquered Britons, Tacitus reflected: **Idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur cum esset pars servitutis** "and this by those who had not sense enough to know, was called civilization when in truth it was a factor of enslavement."²⁹

It remains to discuss the political institutions outlined in the Book of Rights and to explain the operation of some of the more important laws of the **Senchus Mór** and of the Book of Aicill. The basic political unit in ancient Ireland was the **Tuath**. There were about one hundred of them. Their organization was somewhat like that of the Saxon hundred but more like the Roman **civitas**. The people of the **Tuath** were divided into free and unfree classes. The distinction was not a rigid one. The unfree might rise to the rank of freemen, and freemen might through crime or economic misfortune sink to the level of the unfree. Political power was exercised through an assembly of freemen presided over by a chief (**flaith**) whose office like the Saxon kingship was partly hereditary and partly elective. Originally the office was strictly elective but tended to become hereditary because of the emoluments attached, namely land and stock. Land was also granted to the Bards, Brehons and medical men so that their professions also became hereditary. In response to the law of supply and demand the same became true of the crafts. There was nothing peculiarly Irish about this. It was a universal medieval tendency which can be seen in operation in the Saxon office of the king and earl and in the European craft guilds in which apprenticeship became ultimately restricted to the families of the master craftsmen.

As in Saxon political society, the family bond was strong in the Irish **Tuath**. The legal family (**deirbhfhine**, pronounced daru-linna) was a man and wife and their kin to the fourth generation. According to the Irish law of inheritance when a man died his property in so far as it was divisible was divided equally between all of his heirs which meant every member of the **deirbhfhine**. Beyond the fourth generation new family groups developed. This seems to have been the limits of Irish gavelkind or equigeniture. The same law of inheritance was applied to the royal succession so that when the king died any member of his **deirbhfhine** was eligible. It is easy to see in such a law a tendency to divide the

²⁹Cornelius Tacitus, **Agricola** (London, 1914), 206.

royal kin (**rioghdhamhna**, pronounced reegouna) into opposing factions and to lead to dynastic feuds. This was why the institution of tanistry was devised in the tenth century, the tanist, or successor, being elected by the assembly of freemen during the lifetime of the king or chief. The assembly of freemen was undifferentiated, but as new laws were of rare occurrence, its chief function was to elect the king and act as an administrative council. The king was president of the assembly, commander of the forces in war, and judge in the public court.

The **Tuatha** tended to group together under hegemonies (counties), these again under larger hegemonies (provinces), and the provincial hegemonies tended to pyramid themselves into a national hegemony under the **Árd Rí** or high king of Ireland and a national assembly. Each hegemony had its assembly and its king from the **flaith** or sub king of a **tuath** up to the high king. This is the Irish analogue of the system that Caesar saw in process of operation in Gaul where it had then reached the county stage. The weakness in the system lay in its last stage, for although the high kingship was the office of highest dignity, it was symbolic rather of national unity than of effective political power. From the third to the twelfth century, except for about fifty years following the battle of Clontarf (1014), the office existed. Brian Boru was the first **Árd Rí** to be anything more than a **primus inter pares**, and he was enabled to make it an effective office because he was at the same time a powerful provincial king. The death of Brian and his immediate descendants at Clontarf led to a struggle between the three leading dynastic families, the O'Briens, the O'Neills and the O'Connors, for the dignity of the high kingship, and Ireland had not recovered from the effects of that struggle when the Anglo-Normans arrived.³⁰

The clan system, to which historians have devoted so much futile effort, was not germane to the original system at all. Rather it was the effect of the spread of economic feudalism to Ireland. The student of Anglo-Saxon constitutional history will notice that before William the Conqueror set foot on English soil, the manorial system had taken root throughout the greater part of England. It had also invaded Scotland, and there is no reason for solemnly affirming, as historians of Celtic Ireland do, that Ireland was untouched by a phenomenon that spread all over western Europe. The law of kin-

³⁰Annals of Ireland, I and II.

ship was of prime importance in Irish political and social life. But it was a family and not a tribal kinship. The chiefs of the so called septs or clans were simply sub-kings or **flaiths** who took advantage of the spread of economic feudalism to reduce their subjects, whether free or unfree holders, to a semi-manorialized condition. Family solidarity and semi-isolation from the rest of the world intervened to render economic feudalism incomplete. Political feudalism was first introduced into Ireland by the Anglo-Normans, and again it had its effect on the Irish chiefs who adopted as much of it as they dared. The result was that the clan was not a unit of tribal communism based on tribal kinship, but a semi-feudalized socio-political unit in which both economic and political feudalism had been forced to compromise with free local communities holding property within their legal family groups. The clan was thus an intermediate condition of society between feudalism and the primitive free village community.³¹

The national character of the laws of Celtic Ireland was not due in the first place to the action of the **Árd Rí** and the national assembly or to that of the provincial kings and their provincial assemblies, but to the national organization of the Brehons which they had inherited from the Druids. Every cause of litigation between individuals of the same or different rank began with an offer of arbitration on the part of the plaintiff. If the defendant declined the terms of composition the law of distraining came into effect. The plaintiff accompanied by witnesses and, if necessary, with the aid of his family kinsmen seized upon some of the defendant's movable property equivalent according to the rules of compensation for damages laid down in the law. The details of the law sought to make the thing seized not only equal but appropriate to the nature of the damage. In the case of debt or theft compensation was generally acceptable in cattle, for among the Irish as among the Anglo-Saxons cattle were the equivalent of money. The Brehon laws make no mention of metallic money which was not used to any great extent in the internal economy of Ireland before the Norse invasion.³²

The law of distraining was of two kinds "Distress with Time" and "Immediate Distress". In the first kind, the thing seized was subject to a respite in which the plaintiff was supposed to lodge it

³¹MacNeill, *op. cit.*, 5 ff.

³²See **Senchus Mór in Ancient Laws of Ireland**, I-III, *passim*; an exhaustive account is to be found in Ginnell, *op. cit.*, 177-210.

in the pound. If within the time limit the defendant gave security (sometimes in the form of a hostage or a slave), he might have the thing distrained back, pending a settlement in or out of a law court. If the defendant, having given security, wished to test the legality of the distress, he was allowed a certain time for this purpose. The same was of course true if the plaintiff wished to test the validity of his claim.

In the case of "Immediate Distress", which obtained if the plaintiff belonged to a higher rank than the defendant, the latter could not redeem the thing distrained during the time fixed for a settlement. The law of distraining could not be put into effect until the plaintiff had served a very explicit notice on the defendant so as to put him in possession of every material fact of the case. Further, if the defendant was a chief (**flaith**), brehon, bard, or bishop, the plaintiff was obliged to fast upon him (**Troscead**) in addition. This consisted in waiting at his door a certain time without food. The text of the **Senchus** says that, "He who refused to cede what should be accorded to fasting, the judgment on him according to the **Feini** (brehons) is that he pay double the thing for which he was fasted upon." Similarly, "if notwithstanding the offer of what should be accorded to him," the faster continued to fast, he forfeited his legal right. Distress by fasting was designed to protect the poor as against the mighty. It was not peculiar to Ireland. A similar system, the sitting (**dharna**), has existed in India from time immemorial. If the person on whom distress was levied had no property he might be seized himself and compelled to make good the damage in labor. An immense amount of recondite detail regulated the law of distraining; this belongs rather to equity than to law.³³

The Book of Aicill which deals mainly with criminal law was composed from the opinions of King Cormac who reigned in the third century, and from those of Cennfaeladh, the learned, who lived in the seventh. The distinction between civil and criminal liability was not the same as that in English jurisprudence. The state did not prosecute nor did the law set up crime as a species of liability distinct from tort. Yet there were significant differences; first, in the moral nature of the act by which criminal liability was incurred; secondly, by the fact that the defendant lost his right to choose the judge; thirdly, in that he was liable to temporary or perpetual

³³*Ibid.*, I, 229 ff.

loss of status. Capital punishment was rarely resorted to, but occasionally its equivalent might be achieved by putting the criminal out to sea in a small boat with a food supply for only one day.³⁴

The sanction of the law rested in the first place on public opinion aided by a boycott of the defendant who failed to make good the compensation awarded by the judgment in court or by arbitration out of court. In the opinion of de Jubainville, lynching was occasionally resorted to.³⁵ Doubtless this was a personal opinion, and in view of new facts that have come to light it may be discarded. Critics of the Brehon laws fix on the idea of sanction by public opinion as their fundamental weakness. But the same was to some extent true of Anglo-Saxon law. It should be remembered too that the people, who were their own police, had a capital interest in seeing that the defendant made good the compensation due. If he escaped, his *finé* (legal family) was bound *in solidum* to make up the compensation to the injured party, or, if he had been killed, to his *finé*. Nor is this the whole story. We do not have the whole of the *Senchus Mór* or the Book of Aicill, and many of the other law tracts published by the Brehon Law Commission are mere fragments. This would no doubt be regarded as an excuse by the critics of the Brehon laws were it not that Kuno Meyer came across and published in *Eriu*,³⁶ a most important tract which had escaped the Commissioners. It shows the king of the *Tuath* acting as the executive officer in carrying out a judgment of the Brehon courts. Furthermore it gives the procedure followed by the king of the *Tuath* of the injured party in securing a compensation or honor price from a defendant who was the subject of the king of another *Tuath* with which no conjoint jurisdiction had previously been established. The king of the injured party resorted to the king next in rank above him (i.e. the county king), and took from him a hostage thus engaging his superior to execute the claim.

The discovery of this manuscript is important not only because of the point discovered, but because it disproves every account of the sanction of the Brehon laws published until the appearance of

³⁴See Book of Aicill in *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, III; Ginnell, *op. cit.*, 177-210.

³⁵Cited in Arthur Ua Clerigh, *The History of Ireland to the Coming of Henry II*, 2 vols., London, no date of publication), I, 214. This author is well informed but opinionated and pretentious.

³⁶*Eriu* (Dublin, 1907), I.

MacNeill's **Early Irish Laws and Institutions**. The law was operative without calling in the power of the state, but it did not contemplate contumacy; for the **Senchus** provided that any man who resisted the king's government in the administration of the law was to be outlawed, and for anyone to afford him asylum involved liability. If anything worthwhile on the point is missing from the law tracts it is supplied in a poem of counsels to a king:³⁷

Every offender who is not restrained,
Every deliberate, habitual lawbreaker,
From gyves to the dungeon,
From the dungeon to the gallows.

One of the biggest gaps in the Brehon law tracts as published is their failure to give us any clear idea of the court procedure or of the constitution of the courts. The king was the judge, but it was a Brehon acting as his **locum tenens** who rendered the decision. There appear to have been professional advocates available to the litigants, a court of appeal and regular methods of procedure for carrying the case before it; and, if a Brehon could be proved to have delivered an unjust judgment, he himself was liable to damages. On this important aspect of the law we have no further information, due no doubt to the fact that important tracts or parts of tracts are missing from the **Feineachus** (law of Ireland).³⁸

The Brehon laws deal in minute detail with marriage, **saer**-stock and **daer**-stock tenure (**saer**-free, **daer**-unfree), the peculiarly Irish custom of fosterage, contracts, wills and oaths, the protection and legal defense of artisans, of the unfree and of strangers, of the right of sanctuary, and even of cases arising because a person was stung by a neighbor's bees. Throughout the laws there is considerable evidence that (almost every partisan history of Ireland notwithstanding) the Irish people in Celtic times pursued a system of mixed agriculture in which crops of cereals and bee and flax culture figure quite as largely in the economy of Ireland as stock raising and dairying.³⁹

In the State Papers of the reign of Queen Elizabeth it is said by an English official in Ireland that "this Feinechas is none other than the sivill (i.e. the Roman) law".⁴⁰ The fact is that its resem-

³⁷MacNeill, *op. cit.*, 113-14.

³⁸Hyde, *op. cit.*, 585.

³⁹*Ancient Laws of Ireland*, IV and V; *passim*, Ginnell, *op. cit.*, 210-26.

⁴⁰Ginnell, *op. cit.*, 227.

blances to Roman law prove no more than that rules for human conduct are likely to concur because of the relative constancy of human nature. It was not the business of English officials in Ireland to acknowledge the authenticity of a great national monument to Irish experience. Sir John Davies, the Attorney-General for Ireland in the reign of James I, denounced Celtic juridical theories as tending to the destruction of public order. Edmund Spencer was the only celebrated Englishman of those days who had a good word to say for the Brehon laws. He lived many years in Ireland and wrote the **Faerie Queen** in Coleman Castle, County Cork. In his **Dialogue between Eudoxus and Ireneus**, he had no better solution of the Irish question to offer than the denationalization and dispersion of the Celt. Yet he rendered homage to the Brehons when, in 1592, he lauded to the skies the equity of their decisions.

The best word that can be said for the Brehon laws is that the Irish people obeyed and treasured them. For Irishmen, accordingly, they were a touchstone of good government. When the Brehon laws were replaced throughout the country by the common law, Irishmen long regarded it as the reign of sovereign iniquity; for the common law lent its assistance and its protection not to them but to their unjust aggressors. They often recalled the words of wisdom that fell from the pen of the old glossator: "Just as a house protects against the cold and against the inclemency of the weather, so also the law and the knowledge of the **Senchus** protects against ignorance and against injustice." The night of ignorance and injustice which followed upon the destruction of the **Senchus** was long and terrible. But Erin was never to forget this precept of the Brehons: "Do not cease to protest, do not cease to cry out against injustice, lest it should be able to fall back upon prescription."⁴¹

⁴¹Nys, *op. cit.*, I, 98.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Geography Behind Politics, by A. E. Moodie. New York. Longmans, Green and Company. 1950. pp. 178. \$1.60.

This timely book, one of the Hutchinson's University Library Geography Series, is excellent for the busy individual; for it offers a wealth of material in brief, yet clear and concise form, with numerous specific instances to illustrate each major point or topic as it is presented.

Throughout his discourse the author makes reference to the newness of the field and to the indefinite scope of political geography. And yet, he deftly employs synthesis in coordinating the component factors, human, physical, and political geography, history, as well as economics, anthropology, and political science into a coordinated "politco-geographic whole."

In his chapter "Evolution of States" he clearly shows that conflict lies between the political independence of states on one hand, and their economic interdependence upon the other; and that if states would share the world's resources, much political friction could be avoided. However, since the more richly endowed states must sacrifice some sovereignty in doing so, they are not willing "to share."

As to the chapter "International Political Geography", the author traces the rise of the state from a period of undeveloped youth to fruitful maturity with its increasing complexity of economic structure. In this process of evolution he shows that states possessing different geographic resources attain great diversity in levels of organization. Interstate relationships are intensified by the economic interdependence of the several states, and through this interdependence trade barriers (and others) are gradually being removed.

The treatise on the "Growth of Imperialism" is very good. Here the author refers to the "active" countries as those that have industrialized; while those furnishing raw materials, he terms "passive" ones. He further states that the status of these countries is subject to change.

The chapter on frontiers and boundaries is excellent. The author differentiates very clearly between the terms "international frontier" and "international boundary," and he points to the obsolescence of European boundaries, despite the fact that "everywhere in the inhabited world the European political model is being copied." The

maps are good and conveniently arranged. Specific instances are numerous.

The importance of communications are emphasized as an index to greater progress and international understanding. Especially good are the relations of geographic conditions to oceanic routes, and also the increasing importance of air travel.

The theme employed in the chapter "Demographic Aspects" is "freedom from want", and what might be done to attain it. The author emphasizes the unevenness of the distribution of the world's population and the resultant Asiatic demand for "Lebensraum" at a time when European colonies were underdeveloped. His solution is the maintenance of a proper balance between population and resources.

By way of summary he indicates that the state represents the results of human efforts to bring order out of chaos in a restricted area; that all states represent the organized attempts of their people to adapt their manifold activities to the physical conditions of their environment.

As a final comment, I might add that the book is very well written. Its scope is broad and its subject matter is so well chosen and presented that (unlike many books written in this field) it is not likely to become out of date for some time.

John W. Conoyer, Saint Louis University.

A History of Medieval Latin Literature, by Maurice Helin (trans. by Jean Chapman Snow). New York, Salloch. 1949. pp. 130. \$3.00.

This is a panoramic view of medieval Latin literature which will be of interest and value to historians normally preoccupied with battles and migrations, kings and catastrophes. Here they will find indications of the source materials for cultural history and a consistent view of the organic development of Western Literature from its cradle in Greece and Rome to the vernaculars. The book well illustrates the medieval consciousness of being the heirs of the past, the theme of the *translatio studii* from Athens to Rome to Aachen to Paris.

The function of Boethius, Cassiodorus, Benedict and Gregory the Great is clearly defined as preserving the past, civilizing barbarism and so spreading the Faith. Carolingian literary efforts sharply focus the development of medieval schools; and, rightly, the twelfth century is seen as a natural climax of the activity of preceding ages, in such figures as John of Salisbury, Abailard, St. Bernard and the

Victorines. Strong emphasis is placed on rhythmical verse but, as so often, medieval theological writing is ignored.

Admittedly schematic (the tourist is first shown the great monuments and picturesque sites), the book could be profitably complemented by Rand, Duckett and Haskins. The translator unfortunately betrays unfamiliarity with the field and at times apparently misses the meaning of the original. But, all in all, it is a useful book.

Edwin A. Quain, Fordham University.

St. Francis of Assisi by Omer Engelbert (trans. and ed. by Edward Hutton), New York. Longmans. 1950). pp. 352. \$4.00.

The herald of the great King, as Francis called himself, has probably never had a better biography, in the English language, all things considered, than this Engelbert-Hutton combination. No previous English story of the Poverello has been so thoroughly geared to the thirteenth century history in which Francis was playing his splendid role. Here we not only know that the constant wars and internecine strife were part of the vast—and terribly convulsing—conflict of the Hohenstaufen versus the Papacy, but we are kept informed from time to time of the ebb and flow of battle. Perugia, for instance, was a papal city, and so, in attacking Assisi, it struck with communications also. That horde of Saracens scaling the walls of Clare's convent were mercenaries in the pay of Frederick II.

The author knows his period so well that he can sum up, in a sentence, illuminating generalizations like this: "Such were the Cathari, who in Italy were called Patarini, in France Albigensians, in Eastern Europe Bogomiles, and in the North, Bulgars" (p. 90).

As few have written of Francis out of fuller study of even the latest biographical and bibliographical researches as these authors, so none are better qualified to portray the stark tragedy of the last ten years of Francis' life, when the exigencies of organization imposed sweeping and prudential silences in the written **Rule** approved by Pope Honorius III in 1223, with a consequent ferment of unsatisfaction coursing through Franciscan history ever since. In his own way Francis also was a sign to be contradicted.

The marvels of the irrepressible Francis and his little Knights of the Table Round, Bernard and Leo, and Juniper and Giles, have here a moving recounting. (It was Giles who said of a preacher at Perugia, he ought to end his sermon with the couplet:

Bo! Bo!

Molto dico e poco fo.)

What the book calls the 'spiritual consanguinity' of Francis and Clare, and the somewhat similar instance of the origins of the

Third Order, the "illusion on his part that his (unlettered) example could be followed" (p. 249) in his Order, all these are well handled, as well as the incidents of the stigmata in his last years. Francis died singing, in his 46th year, and humanity sees in him one of its noblest figures.

Gerald Ellard, Saint Louis University.

Cluniac Art of the Romanesque Period, by Joan Evans. New York. Cambridge University Press, 1950. xxxvi. 134 pp. 426 plates. \$14.00.

The divergent attitudes of the Cistercian and Cluniac orders towards ecclesiastical art and ornaments are well known. The almost puritanical diatribes of Saint Bernard against "the costly polishings, the curious carvings and paintings" of the Cluniac churches are frequently referred to by historians. In a previous book, **The Romanesque Architecture of the Order of Cluny** published in 1938, Miss Evans has shown that, under the guidance of Cluniac abbots and monks in the 10th and 11th centuries, a style of church and monastic architecture grew up which is quite distinguishable from the general Romanesque style of the period and against which the over-severe and unadorned Cistercian abbeys and churches were built in conscious protest.

In this new book on Cluniac art, Miss Evans makes a study of the ornamentation of Cluniac churches and monasteries comparable to her previous study of the general ground plans and structure of the buildings. In part one she makes a brief survey of the development of the Cluniac art of ornamentation from the late 11th to the middle of the 12th century, emphasizing especially the complete flowering of all the arts of ornamentation—book illumination, wall painting, and sculpture—under the greatest of the Cluniac Abbots, Hugh and his nephew Peter the Venerable. As in her book on Cluniac architecture, so here Miss Evans gives some rather persuasive evidence of her contention that most of the work on both the building and ornamentation of these Cluniac monasteries was done by laymen in the employ of and under the guidance of the abbots and monks. She also shows in this preliminary survey that the art of Cluniac ornamentation, like most other arts, went through a fumbling period of development to a golden age of restrained achievement, and then through a period of excess to a final decline.

Part two deals with general ornamental details in contrast to iconographical ornament which is taken up in part three. Miss Evans shows, both in her text and in the 426 excellent plates, that the Cluniac sculptors at first drew much of their ornamental detail

from surviving Roman architecture, but that as time went on, they took more and more details from the designs in illuminated manuscripts which were so lovingly preserved in the Cluniac libraries and many of which were produced in the Cluniac scriptoria. She demonstrates quite clearly that the Beatus manuscripts of the Apocalypse and the illuminated Catalan Bibles were especially fruitful sources of designs for the Cluniac sculptors.

In part three Miss Evans shows that much of the rich iconographic detail of Cluniac sculpture was also derived from illuminated manuscripts. Although this source accounts for the largest quantity of the iconographical detail, illuminated calendars, the liturgical drama, and manuscript lives of the saints are also shown to have supplied inspiration for a considerable amount of Cluniac iconographical sculpture.

It is these last sections of the book that are most interesting and really informative. They will be interesting to the general historian because of the added light they throw on the history of Cluny, to the historian of art because of the clarity with which they record and illustrate the specific qualities of the Cluniac school of ornamentation, and to the student of literature for the new evidence they supply for the close relationship between all the arts in any given period of history.

M. B. McNamee, Saint Louis University.

Catholic Biblical Encyclopedia of the New Testament by John E. Steinmueller, S.T.D., S. Scr. L. and Kathryn Sullivan, R.S.C.J., Ph.D. Joseph F. Wagner, Inc. New York. 1950. pp xvi, 702. \$9.75.

This well-bound, excellently printed, and handy-sized reference book falls short, in my estimation, of the claims found in the press release of the publishers.

That there has been a need for a Catholic Encyclopedia of the New Testament in the English language, all will agree. That this volume is a step in the direction toward the fulfillment of this need, again all will agree. But that the present volume actually fulfills the need will not be agreed to, I fear, by many teachers of religion in our schools.

Perhaps, not all are in agreement as to what an encyclopedia should be. An encyclopedia is not a dictionary, nor a commentary, nor a concordance, nor a combination of these. It has a work to do other than the work done by these three. When, then, an encyclopedia undertakes to do some of the work of all three, as the **C.B.E.** does in many instances, it becomes a poor encyclopedia.

For example, when I look up the word 'hospitality' I do not want to learn all the places the word is used in the N.T. nor am I particularly interested in partial explanations of those texts. I would like to find out how hospitality was understood and practiced by N.T. peoples in N.T. times. Again, I can learn from an ordinary dictionary that a 'needle' is a "slender, sharp-pointed instrument for sewing". When I look up the word 'needle' in a New Testament Encyclopedia, I want to find answers to such questions as "How extensively were needles used in the time of Christ? Were they used in homes? in industries only? what were they made of? who made them? were they larger than the needles used today?" Briefly, I seek knowledge about needles that is not found in a dictionary, nor in a commentary, nor in a concordance.

If you are in need now of a Catholic Encyclopedia of the New Testament in English, you would do well to buy this one. You will find it more than satisfactory in many respects (e.g. an excellent set of bibliographies), but less than satisfactory in some respects. If you are in no immediate need of such a book, you would do well to wait for the "larger and more profound project of this kind" referred to in the Introduction.

Edward E. Finn, Saint Louis University.

Benedictine Peace by Dom Idesbald Van Houtryve (trans. by L. J. Doyle). Newman. 1950. pp. 235. \$3.50.

Saint Benedict the Man by Dom I. Rylandt (trans. by P. Shaughnessy). Grail Publication. St. Meinrad. 1950. pp. 102. \$1.25.

Ideal of the Monastic Life by Dom G. Morin (trans. by C. Gunning). Newman. Reprint. 1950. pp. 200. \$2.50.

The Religious State by St. Thomas Aquinas (trans. by J. Proctor, O.P.). Newman. Reprint. 1950. pp. 166. \$2.25.

In order to evaluate the many treatises written about monks by people who are not monks, it is sometimes very helpful to read something about monks by monks. This is not only true for the teacher; it is equally true for the student. There are those who write about monasticism from the visitation records, as a man might write of American civilization from the police records. There are those who write, at times gushingly, of monasticism as if monks were beings of another world. It which tell us about the monk by the monk. **Benedictine Peace** and the **Ideal of Monastic Life** are spiritual treatises embodying explanations and advice on the more perfect observance of the monastic

goal. The various essays on monastic stability and poverty, liturgical and private prayer, the apostolic life and penance, will help the student to understand what monasticism is intended to be and do.

St. Benedict the Man is an interesting attempt to sketch a portrait of St. Benedict from his famous Rule which has earned for him the title of the Father of Western Monasticism.

The re-edition of Fr. Proctor's translation of the **De Perfectione Vitae Spiritualis** makes available once more a remarkable treatise. St. Thomas wrote it in the midst of heated quarrels at the University of Paris, and made a definite attempt to explain the essence of monasticism to those hostile to it. As such it is very helpful for those who would like to understand the real basis of monasticism, whether the word is taken in the Benedictine sense, or in the wider sense applicable to all religious. Teachers of courses or seminars on monasticism will find these books helpful aids to their students.

The Catholic Missions in China During the Middle Ages (1294-1368)

by Paul S. Hsiang. Washington: Catholic Univ. Pr. 1949. pp. 41. paper, \$0.75.

In the preface to this doctrinal' dissertation in theology, the author states that he uses the ordinary source of collections, for example, the **Annales Minorum**, the **Bullarium Franciscanum** and the **Sinica Franciscana**, together with pertinent Chinese materials. The booklet in its present form contains a summary of the various chapters with the exception of chapter III and the conclusion which are given in full. There is a lengthy, but not a critical bibliography, and nowhere does the author discuss the reliability of the various chronicles and sources which he has had to use. The type form, both reduced and single-spaced, makes for rather difficult reading. However, the work presents a collection of rare data, in English, which will help the historian of the Middle Ages in his knowledge of the missionary work of the Catholic Church at that time.

Lowrie J. Daly, Saint Louis University.

A History of Philosophy, by Frederick Copleston, S.J. Westminster, Md. Newman Press. Vol I, "Greece and Rome," 1948. pp. x+521. \$4.00. Vol. II, "Medieval Philosophy, Augustine to Scotus," 1950. pp. x+614. \$4.50.

The distinguished professor of the history of philosophy at Heythrop College projected a history of philosophy from the pre-Socratics to Kant, to appear in four volumes. This work is intended

to be more than a mere outline of opinions; it is conceived as the history of ideas. On the other hand, it does not pretend to be an encyclopedia; not every person who enunciated a philosophical proposition can find place therein.

The readers which Fr. Copleston has immediately in mind are undergraduate students in philosophy in Catholic schools, especially seminarians. For this reason, the work may be considered a textbook, even, an introductory textbook. The selection of men to be treated, the range of the discussion, the style, are all adapted to the author's aim.

There can be no doubt that this is the best text of the entire history of philosophy now available in English. No complete history of philosophy that is more than twenty years old can compare with this book, for Father Copleston is acquainted with, and makes careful use of, the important studies of the texts, the thought, and the backgrounds of the medieval thinkers in particular. Father Copleston writes from a Catholic and a Thomistic point of view, though some reservations may be made about the latter characteristic.

It seems likely that this **History of Philosophy** will be widely adopted as a textbook in Catholic schools. More than that; it seems destined to become a standard reference work for people; writers, professors, and students, in other fields. Hence, a careful evaluation of the merits of the work is necessary.

The completeness and thoroughness of the books under review have already been mentioned. This alone would be enough to generate confidence. The fact that the most important books for further study are suggested (in appendices to the volumes) is a second ground for confidence.

On the other hand some points in procedure and in detail can be criticized. In the first volume, phrases like "apriori" and "deduction of the categories" tend to mislead the beginner. The author states in his introduction that he wants to avoid reading the ancient philosophers in terms of the moderns. But to use modern technical phrases in the exposition of Plato or Aristotle almost inevitably leads to misunderstanding. True, a twentieth century reader cannot help but make comparisons between the ideas with which he is familiar and the philosophy which he is studying. It is not enough to warn against the possible fallacies of such comparisons when apparent grounds for misleading comparisons are suggested by the text. The treatment of Aristotle is unsatisfactory. Apart from minor details (the statement that "privation" is exigency," the lack

of clarity concerning the relation between "form" and "essence"), Aristotle's critique of Plato is accompanied by the author's running critique of Aristotle. This is not only confusing but unhistorical.

The second volume has several similar defects. In his treatment of St. Augustine, the author warns us not to treat him as if he were an undeveloped Thomist, yet spends too much time himself pointing out Augustine's failings and incompleteness. The treatment of St. Thomas suffers, first of all, from the author's insistence that there is a "synthesis" of Plato and Aristotle, and that this synthesis is "precarious" in several respects (namely, in political theory, and in the relation of the individual to the universe). Here the author is aware that Thomists are presently engaged in some controversies over the meaning of St. Thomas; his conclusion seems unwarranted. Fr. Copleston suggests that philosophy necessarily tends to become a complete system (p. 430), and consequently, that the relation between philosophy and theology which St. Thomas held was likewise precarious. He indicates that the Thomistic theory of individuation, of natural desire for happiness, of the union of soul and body are more or less unsatisfactory solutions (cf. pp. 327, 329, 400-403, 425). The reviewer by no means wishes to contest Fr. Copleston's right to these opinions, nor his right to express them; but merely to point out serious deficiencies in a textbook of history.

Father Copleston's work must thus be considered as a valuable contribution in a field that has so far been neglected by English and American Catholic writers, but it cannot be considered entirely adequate.

George P. Klubertanz, Editor of **The Modern Schoolman**.

Great Expressions of Human Rights, edited by R. M. MacIver. New York. Harper and Brothers. 1950. pp. xvi, 321. \$2.50.

This volume consists of addresses delivered at the Institute for Religious and Social Studies by a group of scholars and publicists. Two of the addresses—John Courtney Murray's on natural law and Sherman Kent's on the Declaration of the Rights of Man—are lengthy and scholarly works. The other twelve are shorter, less obviously learned, but nonetheless solid analyses of various expressions of human rights made throughout history. These vary from the "Vision of Micah" in the Old Testament to the International Bill of Rights adopted by the United Nations in 1948.

These essays should serve as a valuable adjunct to the general course of the history of Western civilization, and the 100-page

appendix of documents treated in the essays is especially useful as required reading for students in such courses.

One may dispute the selection of topics for treatment in this volume; asking, for example, why "An Agreement of the People" is included rather than the Petition of Right of 1628 or the English Bill of Rights of 1688-1689. But there is little point in such dispute, for these are all great expressions of human rights, and no complete list of such expressions could be treated in anything less than several volumes. This is one disquieting note to be made by one who reads these fourteen expressions of human rights: their lack of a unified view of human nature; therefore, their divergent views on human rights make the reader wonder whether the editor is unduly optimistic in believing that these historical utterances can help us "construct an integral charter of human rights."

Jefferson: The Scene of Europe (1784 to 1789), by Marie Kimball. New York. Coward-McCann. 1950. pp. ix, 357. \$6.00.

This is the third volume of Mrs. Kimball's biography of Thomas Jefferson. Like the predecessors, it is a well-written and well-documented piece of biographic literature. Although the author naturally centers her study around Jefferson's development; nevertheless, this volume is valuable chiefly for the intimate, informal picture it presents of France in the five years before the Revolution. Students of European history will be interested in seeing Paris and its environments through American eyes—not only through Jefferson's, but also through his many American friends who visited him and corresponded with him.

France, 1814-1940, by J. P. T. Bury. University of Pennsylvania Press. 1949. pp. xii, 348. \$4.00.

This is a survey of French history from the Bourbon restoration to the fall of the Third Republic in the last war. The author's purpose is to present the story of France to English readers in a single volume. He does not pretend to offer any new information or interpretation, but his work is nevertheless a satisfactory distillation of the many volumes written on this period. Bury tends to follow the Republican school of French historians, but he does make use of such critics of that school as Jacques Bainville. The appendix contains the various constitutions under which French governments have operated since 1814.

Thomas P. Neill, Saint Louis University.

Richelieu and the French Monarchy, by C. V. Wedgwood. New York. Macmillan. 1950. pp. ix, 204. \$2.00.

This book is one of the Teach Yourself History series which adopts the biographical approach to history as the most congenial, concrete, and practical. Miss C. V. Wedgwood enters into the spirit of the project in furnishing a good outline for further study of Cardinal Richelieu's work in preparing the foundations for the absolutist French Monarchy.

It is surprising, in this day and age, to find an author who treats the life and work of the great Cardinal in such a sympathetic manner. Many a reader will grudgingly admire the devotion and singleness of purpose which directed the actions of the first minister of Louis XIII.

Obviously, the student of history will not find the answers to the many problems of seventeenth-century France in a popular, short study of Cardinal Richelieu. In fact, he will be annoyed on being informed that the Estates General was called by Marie de Medici in 1615 (p. 17) and that, at the Reformation, the dynastic quarrel between France and Spain temporarily went underground because each felt the necessity for taking common action against heresy (p. 38). However, if one accepts the key idea of the series, that of opening up a significant historical theme, he will agree that Miss Wedgwood has, on the whole, done her work well.

H. L. Stansell, Regis College.

John Locke's Political Philosophy by J. W. Gough. Oxford. The Clarendon Press. 1950. Pp. vii, 204. \$2.50.

The philosophical ambiguities and inconsistencies for which Locke is notorious, are treated by most scholars as the manifestation of a beginning of intellectual independence from all philosophy (ambiguity being taken as a mark of emancipation from absolute truth), and as a manifestation of a certain lack of courage. This excessive caution in Locke, together with a distrust of all principles is generally called "English common sense". But praising this kind of "common sense" as they do, many students have looked more deeply into it and found something which they regard as even more worthy of praise, namely, a radical destruction of the many traditional notions to which Locke gave verbal adherence. Mr. Gough, strangely, attempts a reverse procedure. His argument seems to be (although he would not put it this way) that the ambiguities in Locke are not harbingers of, or a camouflage for, radical new doc-

trines of natural law, property, government by consent; they are simply—this ambiguity—the expression of his Protestant Christianity. It is not necessary to contradict Mr. Gough if he says that Protestant Christianity is ambiguous; but considering Locke's philosophy it is then necessary to ask whether it was the Protestant ethic which suggested to Locke a very important philosophical revolution in terms of the complete **autarky** of the human reason with respect to all natural knowledge as well as revealed. To tell us simply that the combination of rationalism and empiricism in Locke merely reflects the Protestant conscience, and that this argues an agreement with the tradition on natural law, is, to say the least, a little strange. Perhaps the Protestant conscience feels that there are no natural principles of action which are either universal or common among men, but clearly the rejection of all first practical principles (as being of no more value, as Locke put in, than the sayings of an old nurse), shows a radical break with the traditional approach.

Mr. Gough's volume (which embraces studies of the law of nature, the rights of the individual, government by consent, the theory of property, the separation of powers and sovereignty; the Revolution of 1688, political trusteeship, and Locke's belief in toleration) makes use of hitherto unpublished works of Locke (the Lovelace collection of Locke's papers); but the fresh material is of little or no significance in Mr. Gough's handling because he refuses to see that all of Locke must be read against the seventeenth century philosophical revolution, in which Locke played an important part.

Charles N. R. McCoy, Saint Louis University.

Soviet Expansion in the West by Anthony Travick Bouscaren. San Francisco. 1949. pp. 193.

This is a short description of Soviet conquests since 1939, written in militant style. It is based on official publications from the State Department of the U.S.A., current American books and newspaper articles; it provides the layman with a good summary, fairly accurate, but with incomplete information. Thus, the Soviet attack on religion (p. 79-86) deals almost exclusively with the Hungarian facts; the chapter on Spain omits reference to religious persecution. Andrés Nin was a Trotskyist, not an orthodox communist (p. 157). Azaña and Companys should not be called "Marxists" without qualifying the term (p. 152). The VIIth Congress of the Komintern took place not in October 1935, but during the summer of the same

year (July 25-August 20th). These minor inaccuracies and others that the careful reader will notice, do not affect the general quality of the book.

Must It Be Communism? by Augustine J. Osgniach, O.S.B., Ph.D.
New York. Joseph F. Wagner Inc. 1950. pp. 486.

In spite of its title and flaming coverflap, this is a sound book on the principles of liberalism, communism, and the Christian solution to the social problem. It could be usefully adopted as a text book in Catholic college classes. The extensive reading list (p. 461-477) is almost exclusively made up of books and articles published in English. Some many consider this as a scientific limitaiton; yet it does not hamper, but rather enhances the book's practical usefulness. The book should not be considered as a **Summa** on communism: the explanation of the dialectics of communism is too summary to be adequate (the materialistic conception of history is but the application of dialectics to history); too little is said of the philosophical, literary, and conspirative antecedents of revolution in Russia,—of the relation between German Idealism on one side, and the revolutionary trends that prepared the way to the communist upheaval on the other. Nor is the profound inner connection between revolution in general and the communist revolution in particular sufficiently analyzed. All this might have taken too much space for Father Osgniach's purpose. Keeping this in mind, we feel nevertheless that this book, within the limits in which it was kept, cannot be sufficiently commended. It is divided in four parts: 1. Basic Question (3-79; 2. Non-Christian Solutions, Economic liberalism (83-136), Communism (137-254), Anarchism (255-262). 3. The Christian solution; this is a fine conservative comment on the Papal Encyclicals. The fourth part, prepared by Father Jerome L. Toner, O.S.B., Ph.D., deals with the right to a living wage, the closed shop, and the economic obstacles to the Social Action Program. The book closes with an excellent index. All in all, a useful book to have at elbow's reach, though perhaps not a reference work.

Public Opinion in Soviet Russia by Alex Inkeles. A Study in Mass persuasion. The Russian Research Center. Harvard University Press. 1950. 379 pages. \$5.00.

This is the first book published by the Russian Research Center of Harvard University with the assistance of the Carnegie Corporation, and it is an impressive achievement. The material gathered for this careful study is considerable, as one may notice from the

bibliography (p. 357-364). The notes (p. 327-354) show how accurately the author sifted and exploited the evidence at his disposal. One is favorably impressed by his love for understatement. He knows and tells you just how much his data and his arguments prove, and how much they need further corroboration. All this, and much else we would like to point to the reader's attention, if our space was not so limited, can be taken as proof that this may be as close as we can come to an objective appraisal of a social phenomenon interior to the U.S.S.R. Hence, Professor Inkele's study should be classed as a first-class highly-specialized reference work. It is divided in five parts: 1. Ideas of Propaganda and the Propaganda of Ideas.—2. Personal Oral Agitation and Opinion Leaders.—3. The Soviet Press.—4. Domestic Broadcasting in the U.S.S.R.—5. The Film in Soviet Industry. The author does not study the impact of this propaganda on the people; its moral character; its practical effectiveness. A summary of the conclusions is given in seven pages. The book is written in that fine, distinguished style, of which Harvard men have the envied secret.

In spite of all, there still remains a certain uneasiness which the book does not completely dispel. There seems to be something missing, though it may be difficult to say just what. Would it not have repaid the author to take a considerable chapter—perhaps the most important of the whole book—to describe the coordinated action of all four media of mass communication? Obviously, the impact of such coordinated action will be far greater than that of each of the four media taken singly. Now, it seems to us that this striving after perfect co-ordination is one of the characteristics of the Stalin era. Lenin, as Prof. Inkeles so well brought out, meant propaganda to persuade, and opposed it to coercion. Stalin realizes, through propaganda, a remarkable synthesis of coercion and persuasion,—without of course ignoring stark coercion as well! The new methods are not so much directed to persuade as to create a milieu, whether at a party session, or throughout the land, where dissent becomes an impossibility. This is an amazing psychological coercion. It was brought home very strongly at the time of the general elections that immediately followed the war. It had been argued by some that the Soviet soldiers, after having seen another world, would not be so pliable to propaganda. After we witnessed all media of mass communication converge in a fantastic, inescapable network that covered ceaselessly the U.S.S.R. to its minutest parts during the entire election period, we realized that the Soviet minds were enmeshed in so subtle and efficient a manner, that

intellectual liberation could only come with physical escape. Research along these lines, we feel, might perhaps add a powerful chapter to Prof. Inkeles's brilliant study.

Joseph H. Ledit, Ecole Social Populaire, Montreal.

Germany 2000 Years, by Kurt F. Reinhardt. Milwaukee. Bruce Publishing Co. 1950. pp. 765. \$8.00.

It is indeed a formidable, and even daring, device to interpret in a single volume's presentation, 2000 years of German History. The author emphasizes in his preface that he "approached his task guided by the conviction that political and cultural history are . . . apart from the other." Of course, he is right. The more so since German history and what the Germans mean for the world will never be truly appreciated by mere knowledge of their political decisions. The world could easily miss a good deal of German politics but certainly not—not even now—German civilization.

Reinhardt's book meets a real need and fills a gap hitherto existing in works of English historians. **Germany 2000 Years** deserves highest attention and a ready welcome from all who are interested not only in objectively described factual knowledge, but also in ideas and ideologies that helped throughout centuries to form this strange combination of idealistic, mystical and romantic elements in the "Faustic character." It is, indeed, fascinating to recognize how, in the secularized language of our modern time, Dr. Faust in military uniform became the threatened symbol of very materialistic minded imperialist thinking.

The author has done an excellent job and his analysis makes inspiring reading. It seems to me that he has written one of the best organized, comprehensive surveys of German history among the more recently available publications, though I would have preferred the title: "2000 Years of German Civilization," both on account of the author's definite emphasis on the cultural elements, and even more so on account of his entirely correct insight into the fact that a knowledge of the culture remains a prerequisite for a just analysis of German political development. This holds true for all national civilizations but first of all for the German with its sometimes enigmatic-seeming contradictions.

Reinhardt treats his subject in six discussions, corresponding to the six main periods of the history of Germany from the time of the Empire of Charlemagne to the Second German Empire and the first German Republic after World War I. Each discussion opens with a rather elaborate chronological survey and a cursory account

of the main trends and events of the respective period. He uses some carefully selected illustrations, but he should have made more extensive use of detailed historic-geographical maps to facilitate reading. For "Upper-division" courses Reinhardt's book may certainly serve as an adequate standard-text, provided that the students are also doing additional reading, especially in political history. For there are some aspects of the over-all picture that might need further explanation for one unacquainted with the Central-European problems. The conflict between North and South, the question of the German Dualism (Prussia-Austria), and all the consequences in the cultural field, are certainly not entirely neglected. The author is obviously anxious to do full justice to the Austrian contribution to an all-comprising German civilization; we can cite, for example, his evaluation of Franz Grillparzer, the Viennese musical classics, etc.

Nevertheless the period of Maria Theresa deserves a more elaborate discussion; the personality of the empress as well as of her main adviser (Kaunitz) should have been treated more fully. The same holds true about Josef II and the Austrian enlightenment, a period of outstanding importance from a general German aspect. H. V. Srbik's standard work about Metternich and the Viennese Congress should be referred to, as well as H. Nicholson's work and more recently published studies from American authors. The fateful question of Pan-Germanism and its bearing on the North-South conflict, and also on Slavic reactions, needs an elaborate analysis, instead of a brief reference to H. V. Treitschke (p. 592).

Finally, some statements in chapter XVI, page 632, regarding the policy of former Austria-Hungary towards Serbia might be open to discussion. The publications of the Viennese **Haus-Hof und Staatsarchiv (Dokumentenwerk)** produced documentary evidence that Austria-Hungary did not lay claim to Serbian territory and that the Austrian ambassador in St. Petersburg informed the Russian Foreign office about this attitude of his government.

These and certain other minor inexactitudes—easily corrected, incidentally—can by no means prejudice the high degree of achievement reached by Reinhardt's scholarly work which as a whole deserves high credit and represents a most valuable contribution for a fair and just understanding of the German mind.

Kurt Schuschnigg, Saint Louis University.

Queen of Paradox, A Stuart Tragedy, by Katherine Bregy. Milwaukee. Bruce. 1950. pp. xiv and 221. \$3.00.

Mary, Queen of Scots, is a tempting subject for a biographer. Beautiful, witty and charming, she flashed in brilliant fashion across a dour Scottish sky; but tragically, she was away off course. Men were not sure just what they saw—a brilliant star or something malign; and after three centuries of controversy men are still not agreed on what was seen then. Miss Bregy states that "Mary remains one of the most fascinating problems in all history" (xii); the author has not solved the problem, she had added nothing new and left much unsaid. What she has to say is told interestingly and will hold the reader's attention, more closely, perhaps, than the effort of a professional historian.

But the book cannot be commended, on that ground, as a work of history. A popular work may claim the right to dispense with documentation; but Miss Bregy has chosen to enter a very controversial field, where inextricably interwoven religion and politics are further complicated by Mary's own mercurial personality. The biographer, in such a field, must proceed cautiously, clearly indicating the evidence for the reader.

The picture received of the regnant queen of Scotland is that of a rather flighty, emotional woman: optimistic and depressed by turns, impulsive always. Miss Bregy sympathizes deeply with Mary; and rightly so. For it is hard to imagine one surrounded by a more unpleasant set of scoundrels. "The persistent hate, hypocrisy, and treason" that encompassed Mary from the day she stepped ashore at Leith to the day she mounted the scaffold in Fotheringay Castle are set forth by Miss Bregy with feeling. But it is this same feeling that has prevented her from writing a better book. She is too concerned with Mary the woman to give a clear picture of Mary the queen. Or else we must conclude that Mary was singularly lacking in those qualities of leadership that a ruler should command. Certainly her marriage was an affair of state; and this seems to have been the major concern of her Scottish career. But it is more likely that Mary was moved in regard to Darnley and Bothwell by a more primitive emotion. Miss Bregy admits that Mary's "mad years had begun" (86) with her infatuation with Darnley. But of Scotland as a whole, we learn next to nothing from this book.

To Mary's lasting credit it must be said that she held firmly, in spite of her sins, to her Catholic faith, when to become a Presbyterian would have won her the powerful support of that determined fanatic John Knox. Had she been as compliant as her "dear cousin",

Elizabeth, her treacherous lords would not have dared to be so bold.

The most controversial point of Mary's captivity in England is her alleged complicity in the many plots to free her and to place her on the English throne. To desire her freedom is one thing; to be privy to Elizabeth's death is quite another matter. It is odious; but not to the point, that the English government engineered the Babington plot. The question is: did Mary consent to the death of Elizabeth? This is the crucial point; and it is unlikely that any definite answer can be given. Suffice it to say that Mary to her dying day denied ever having plotted against the life of Elizabeth. Miss Bregy would have done better to present the other side of the case more thoroughly.

But Mary was, willingly or unwillingly, the focus of the forces of disaffection in England, and the English government was determined to do away with her. S. T. Bindoff has said: "it was expediency, not justice, that sent her to her death in 1587"; it is hard to quarrel with this judgment.

J. E. Healey, Loyola College, Montreal.

Some Early Tools of American Science, by I. Bernard Cohen. Cambridge. Harvard University Press. pp. xxi, 201. 1950. \$4.75.

Few indeed would be as well qualified for writing a book on the history of science as Bernard Cohen. He is Assistant Professor of General Education and of the History of Science at Harvard. He is the author of "Science, Servant of Man" and other books, and Editor of "Benjamin Franklin's Experiments."

The author gives the purpose and tone of his book when he writes: "The present work is not a history of the sciences at Harvard in the full sense . . . It is written to celebrate the first comprehensive exhibition of early scientific instruments at Harvard and to provide some background of the larger values associated with these tools of early American science."

The book may be divided into two major divisions: first, the general description of the history of the teaching of physics and astronomy, chemistry and biology at Harvard; the second, appendices which contain pictures, brief descriptions and inventories of the apparatus. Frequently the price paid for a particular piece of apparatus is included.

The recital of the history of science at Harvard is enlivened by accounts of a few of the classroom demonstrations, e.g. the "volcano" experiment and the solidification of carbonic acid, "dry ice",

performed by the early professors: John Webster, John Gorham, and Aaron Webster.

For many it will come as a surprise that science played such an important part in the culture of early America; that investigation, research and the publication of results were so highly regarded. It is interesting to note that the difficulties, lack of equipment, funds and space plagued the early teachers of "Natural Philosophy" just as they do today. Experiments failed to work before a class then as now. Professor Dexter is quoted as saying: "This experiment, Gentlemen, is one of remarkable brilliancy. As I touch the powder you see before me with a drop of this fluid, it bursts into a sudden and brilliant flame"—which it most emphatically does not do as he makes the contact. "Gentlemen, the experiment has failed,—but the principle, Gentlemen, the principle remains firm as the everlasting hills."

Many may have been the limitations placed upon the science teachers of the 18th and 19th centuries, but who will doubt that their approach to their teaching was more wholesome than their successors of the 20th century. Then it was "fashionable" to show that "the material world is a mirror, reflecting moral truths," and that after "all the struggles of a reluctant philosophy, the necessary resort is to a Deity . . . a God, a perceiving, intelligent, designing Being, at the head of creation, and from whose will it all proceeded." Now, according to many, it is "unscientific" to have recourse to God; the material world, you understand, just happened!

Vincent P. Jacobsmeyer, Saint Louis University

Art and Life in America by Oliver W. Larkin. New York. Rinehart and Company, Inc. 1949. pp. xxiii, 547. \$7.95.

It is a truism that, for a thorough understanding of any period of history, a knowledge of its art is indispensable. Such knowledge guards us against a too narrowly political and economic evaluation of the past. We have a better idea of the man who made Greek history when we have encountered them in the *Illiad* and the *Odyssey* than if we were content with a mere chronology of their wars and political struggles; we have a clearer vision of the Greek ideal when we have contemplated it embodied in the Parthenon and the Apollo Belvedere than if we restricted our study to the dialogues of Plato and the philosophical treatises of Aristotle. And we have a far better grasp of the dominant traits of an epoch when we have seen their impact on **all** the arts in that age than if we confined ourselves to only one of them. We know, for instance, a

great deal more about modern impressionism when we have studied it in painting, sculpture, music, and literature, than if we had observed it only in painting.

Books, therefore, which succeed in integrating the life and history of a period or a country with the art of that country or period, and which reveal the dominant traits of the epoch with which they deal in **all** the arts, have a special value to both the student of history and literature. Many such books have been written for the student of English and European literature and history, but very few writers have attempted such in integration for the student of American life and letters. Oliver W. Larkin's **Art and Life in America**, therefore, fulfills a very definite need.

The book is not a mere survey of art in America; it integrates the development of American arts and crafts with the political, social, economic, and religious developments of each successive period. The work is divided into six books entitled respectively "The Colonial Arts," "The Self-Conscious Republic," "Democratic Vistas," "Between Two Panics," "Progressivism, Culture, and War," and "New Horizons." Each of these books is, in turn, broken down into several broad divisions with a general introduction integrating the arts of the period with the general life and activity in America and with the European scene as well. These introductions, taken separately, provide an excellent survey of American art in the broad historical context of both the American and European scenes. The chapters in each of the subdivisions are concerned with a more detailed discussion of individual artists and their work. None of these discussion is marred by the over-technical language which is found in many surveys of art. In fact, the style of the whole book is very readable, a fact which will make the book more valuable for the general student of history and literature for whom it is chiefly intended. There are 417 black and white illustrations in the book, selected from a collection of over 1000; these in themselves provide a visual survey of the development of art in America.

For such a large book, so well illustrated, the price of \$7.95 is very reasonable, a fact which should make it more accessible to the general student whose knowledge is bound to be broadened and deepened by this story of American life and letters in relation to the unfolding picture of American art.

M. B. McNamee, Saint Louis University.

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